

The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MAY 11, 1876.

The Week.

THE refusal to surrender Winslow does not seem at this moment to be final. It appears from Mr. Fish's letter to Mr. Hoffman that the British have at least in one case recently, but before the passage of the Act of 1870, done what they are now seeking to preclude us from doing, by trying for larceny a man named Heilbroun, who was surrendered by the United States for forgery, while there are other precedents less directly in point, but all tending to show that the practice between the two countries has been heretofore in accord with our present claim. The point was also raised in 1873 in the Queen's Bench in the Bouvier case, under the English extradition treaty with France, but was disposed of by showing that the French Government did not need to give any pledge not to try a man for any other offence than the one for which he was surrendered, inasmuch as its practice in this matter was settled by a circular of the Minister of Justice in 1841, addressed to the French magistrates, forbidding the trial of any extradited prisoner for any offence but the one for which he had been surrendered, and directing that whenever in any case evidence of a new crime should come to light in the course of the proceedings, a fresh demand, with the usual formalities, should be made on the country from which the criminal had come for his surrender on this new charge. As this circular was based, we believe, on general principles of international law, and not on any municipal enactment, and as the French have bestowed more attention on the subject of extradition than probably any other nation, it seems to confirm the position we ventured to assume a month ago, that the British would have been justified in asking us for the pledge in Winslow's case and all other cases, without regard to the Act of 1870; and that it was a mistake on their part to plead that Act in defence of their course. Their Government had the right to do what it is doing before the Act was passed. The effect of the Act on them is to compel them to exercise this right in all cases. On our duties it has, of course, absolutely no effect whatever. The English press, too, seems to be under the impression that this Government cannot give the required pledge as regards its own courts, and that when a prisoner gets into the hands of the United States courts they may try him for any offence they please. This also is a mistake. The District-Attorney has full control of all prosecutions, and is an officer of the Executive. The difficulty arises only with cases like Winslow's, which are cognizable only by the State courts. Here the Federal Government cannot give any pledge, but the difficulty might be got over by Congressional legislation, making a pledge from the State government one of the papers necessary to put the extradition machinery of the Federal Government in motion against persons guilty of offences within the jurisdiction of the State courts only.

The Senate has been occupied during the week chiefly with hearing the arguments on the question of jurisdiction after resignation. General Belknap's counsel seem to rely chiefly on the inconvenience of an officer of the Government becoming liable to impeachment for an indefinite time after he has ceased to be an officer and maintain that the framers of the Constitution could not have intended such an absurdity. That it is inconvenient for the culprit is no doubt true, but for the Government and the public it is just the reverse. The statutes of limitation with regard to criminal offences will always make it possible for people in Belknap's position to escape the meshes of the law; and the value of the process of impeachment is, that notwithstanding this possible evasion of punishment, there is one way in which they can always, as long as they

live, be brought up and disqualified from all further official malfeasance. The unlimited character of the jurisdiction as to time is, therefore, instead of being an inconvenience, its highest recommendation. The counsel for the defence have endeavored to draw an appalling picture of the abuse of the process likely to follow from a decision in favor of jurisdiction over resigned officers, through wholesale impeachments of obnoxious politicians by a Senate and House in accord with each other. That this peril is wholly imaginary is proved by the fact that impeachment is a process which is hardly ever used, simply because it is cumbersome and takes up a great deal of time. The arguments by both sides have been strong, that of Mr. George F. Hoar attracting a great deal of attention because of its outspoken denunciation of corruption "in all its forms." The House has discussed and passed by a majority of fifteen votes the bill to carry out the Hawaiian treaty. Speeches were made against it, and the job was pretty well exposed; but the argument that the House could not, by refusing its support, nullify the action of the treaty-making power, seems to have been the conclusive one.

The Democratic investigators could hardly have done Senator Morton a more valuable service than by accusing him of fraud in the levying and equipment of the Indiana troops during the rebellion, and thus drawing attention to his "war record," which is all the "record" he has that will bear examination. Of course, there was nothing to be found out. Mr. Morton is not a speculator; he is much too 'cute and far-seeing for that; and he, like ever so many others, did render valuable service as "a war governor." Like Butler, his tastes and character made him a prominent and valuable man in times of tumult and disorder; and in those times he acquired a reputation and popularity which enabled him to play successfully the part of an unscrupulous and unprincipled demagogue afterwards; and, as with Butler, one of the test-signs of the triumph of reform will be his disappearance from public life. The war was hardly over when he appeared (in 1867) with Butler as the advocate of a plan for defrauding the public creditor and disgracing the country by paying off the bonds in greenbacks. When the President produced his plan of civil-service reform three years later, Morton was one of its bitterest opponents, and the most ardent supporter of the present corrupt and degrading system of appointments to office, which he pronounced the best civil service on this planet. When the currency question came up in 1874, he characteristically appeared as the advocate of inflation, and delivered speeches by the yard in its defence containing folly and falsehood in about equal proportions. Through the whole of General Grant's Administration, too, he was the principal friend and counsel in the Senate of all the disreputable carpet-bag interest at the South, and the supporter of every adventurer whom it sent up for admission to Congress. In fact, he has, during the last eight years, associated himself with only one piece of useful and honest work—the proposed change in the mode of electing the President. The rest of his activity has been purely mischievous and corrupt. It ought to be said for him, also, that with characteristic audacity he changes his opinions within twenty-four hours if he concludes they are not popular. The war has probably made no worse contribution to American politics than he except Butler, and it has made many bad ones.

They have made another serious mistake in assailing the President with interrogatories as to his absence during the summer from the seat of government, and enabled him to deliver them a crushing reply. He shows that it is none of their business where he spends his summer unless they mean to impeach him—and in that case they ought not to seek their information from him, because he is not bound to criminate himself—or unless they mean to legislate about the matter, which they do not propose. He therefore declines to state in

detail what executive acts or duties he has performed at a distance from the seat of government and how long he has been absent from it, but simply says that he has discharged all the duties attached to his office, and that the present facilities for communication are such that he has been able to discharge them as well when absent from Washington as when present in it; he denies that the Constitution imposes on the President any limitation as to the place in which he shall discharge them, or that there is any act of Congress which imposes, or seeks to impose, such limitation, and adds that, if there were, he should disregard it. He sends with the message a memorandum showing that every President, from Washington down to Lincoln, was absent a great deal from the seat of government, and performed during such absence numerous executive acts. There can be no doubt that the choice of the place where the President shall do his work is one of the many things which are necessarily left to his discretion, and which must be left to his discretion. If he persistently resides in a place in which he cannot properly attend to the public business, and the public business suffers thereby, of course he may be impeached, as for any other malfeasance in office; but neglect of duty is not to be inferred from his place of residence. The fuss which some of the Opposition have been disposed to make of late years about General Grant's passing his summers at Long Branch, has been thoroughly characteristic of the disposition to sham reform shown by many of our politicians. They are greatly agitated about the salaries, for instance, but not about the quality, of employés; and think it a great scandal that the President should not pass the hot weather in Washington, but are not troubled about his passing his time when there in dividing the public service among Congressmen as "spoils."

Mr. Chittenden, Park's attorney in the Emma Mine investigation, has been trying a little sharp practice with Mr. Clarence King's report on the property. Mr. King first saw the mine on June 8, 1873, and on June 11 made a report showing that the mine was worth little or nothing, and substantially proving that this fact must have been known when Park and Stewart effected the sale. He has been having some correspondence with the House Committee, from which it appears that Mr. Chittenden wrote a letter to the chairman, in which he says that he "consented" that a private letter of Mr. King's should go upon the record, because, as he thought, it would not add weight to Mr. King's opinion, and incidentally managed to allude to Mr. King's visit to the mine as having taken place on June 18, so as to make it appear that he wrote his report first and looked at the mine afterward. Mr. King, who is a mining expert of experience, ability, and unquestioned character, became naturally indignant at this misstatement, and wrote to Mr. Hewitt on the subject. Mr. Hewitt writes in reply that Mr. Chittenden's letter is "a most disingenuous production," and his "consenting" to Mr. King's letter going upon the record is imaginary, inasmuch as he, Mr. Hewitt, was the person who gave his consent, after Chittenden had accused him of suppressing the letter, which he, Chittenden, thought might contain something more favorable to the mine than Mr. King's official report.

The report of the Committee appointed last January to investigate the Texas frontier troubles recommends the passage of a joint resolution requiring the President to keep on the Rio Grande border two regiments of cavalry in addition to the garrison troops, and, whenever it is necessary, to send the troops, if in close pursuit of robbers with their booty, across the river, where they are to have power to "use such means as they may find necessary for recovering the stolen property and checking the raids, guarding, however, in all cases against any unnecessary injury to peaceable inhabitants of Mexico." This may at first sight seem a violent remedy, and open to the objection that we have no right to throw troops into the territory of a friendly state; but the Committee show that the right to do so for the purpose of putting down brigandage and recovering property undoubtedly exists, when the friendly power is unwilling or unable

to afford redress through its own internal machinery. This is the case with Mexico. Through incompetence or connivance, she has allowed the occasional cattle-lifting raids natural to such a border as that on the Rio Grande to develop into a well-organized system of plunder, until a regular robber community has grown up on the Mexican side, provided with a kind of government, a police, and a very effective militia, well armed with the best weapons, and supporting itself entirely by raids upon American property. The Mexican Government professes the warmest desire to rid the country of this pest, but has not shown any ability to carry its promises into execution; and, from the career of Cortina, one of the leaders of the robbers, who began as a common cattle-thief, has been indicted over and over again for murder and other crimes, and finally by patient industry worked his way up to a brigadier-generalship and a position of great honor and dignity as a Mexican patriot, it may be inferred that there are permanent causes at work in Mexican society which interfere with the execution of justice. The stories got up by the Mexicans, to the effect that the raids from the Mexican side are counterbalanced by raids from our bank of the river, are treated by the Committee as without foundation; they declare that the tale is on its face false, because while the American side of the river is a tempting field for cattle-raiding operations, there is nothing on the other side to steal. Our side of the river is rich and defenceless, theirs is poor and armed to the teeth, with a population ready for plundering descents. The history of the border during the war, when the active cotton trade which sprang up with the Southern Confederacy, and the consequent influx of population, brought the raiding to an end, shows how the future growth of Texas will probably drive the robbers away; but meanwhile something ought to be done.

The scarcity of small change continued until Saturday, when it was relieved by an order from Mr. Bristow directing the Sub-Treasuries to pay out silver on checks and drafts calling for currency. The extent to which payments will thus be made is not officially announced, but it is understood to be to \$2,500,000 to \$3,000,000, enough to break up the hoarding of fractional notes and silver. The order did not come a moment too soon, and it would have been better had it been issued earlier. The price of silver has fallen to 53d. in London, under sales by the German Government. In Congress, two new bills relating to silver change have been introduced—one by Mr. Randall, which proposes that the Government shall continue in the silver business and shall buy \$25,000,000 more silver bullion than it now has authority to do. The other was introduced by Mr. Wells, and it proposes that the mints shall be opened to all who have silver bullion, that the Government shall coin this at a fair rate, and that the limit of new subsidiary silver shall be \$25,000,000. The difference between the two bills is, that Mr. Randall's would have the Government take the risk of the fluctuations in the market price of silver, and that Mr. Wells's would, while securing all the profits to the Government, have it avoid the chances of loss. Wall Street continues in a state of ferment over the railroad war, in which the New York Central maintains the position of independence recently taken, while the other lines have combined against it. Rates have been reduced, but the war thus far has been less demonstrative than in previous conflicts, and it is surmised that each party to it would welcome a settlement on honorable terms. This surmise rests on the certainty that every line must lose by a continuance of the war, and that no one of them is in a condition in which, whatever its local advantages, it can afford to make sacrifices. Money continues extremely abundant here and in London. Gold shipments have been renewed on a large scale, not because gold is wanted in London, but because there is a dearth of other kinds of remittances. The value in gold of \$100 greenbacks has ranged during the week between \$88 59 and \$88 89.

The annual Woman's Suffrage Bill has come up in the English House of Commons, and has been defeated by an increased majori-

ty, the debate having been made remarkable beyond that of former years by a strong speech in opposition from Mr. John Bright, whose brother, Mr. Jacob Bright, is now the principal male champion of the measure. Mr. Bright admitted that he voted for the bill in 1867 under the influence of Mr. Mill, and Mr. Mill, in his 'Autobiography,' says that he (Mr. Bright) had on that occasion changed his mind under the influence of the arguments used in the discussion. Mr. Bright now says this was a mistake; that he voted for the bill under the influence of sympathy with Mr. Mill and admiration for him. He now opposes it because, he says, it is based on an assumption which he pronounces totally false, namely, that men and women form two separate and hostile classes in the community; because he thinks the extension of the suffrage to women would increase the disorder and corruption of elections, introduce strife into families, and increase the political influence of "priests, parsons, and ministers." Mr. Bright's desertion of the cause strongly confirms the view we have all along taken in these columns of the extent to which the Woman-Suffrage movement was indebted to Mr. Mill's influence for the attention it attracted a few years ago.

Its sudden growth was part of the great outburst of radical and Positivist enthusiasm which showed itself about 1855, and lasted down to 1870, and led so many people to look for a new Heaven and a new Earth, and to conclude that the best thing to do with all human institutions was to change them. In this Mr. Mill was the leader, and his influence and authority gave a large number of very high-minded persons a confidence in their own schemes and ideas which was at times comic. Since his death, his weight as a social philosopher has been steadily declining, and some of the reforms which he sustained have dropped very much out of sight, and both the French wars and the sequel to our own have caused a great sober-mindedness to descend on the world which is unfavorable to social and political experimentation. It must be said, too, that among the men the Woman-Suffrage movement has been helped more by female influence, or, in other words, the influence of sex in its more refined form, than by logic. The male champions shrink, like all true knights, from the frowns of the drawing-room, and love the gentle glow which comes from the applause of the lunch and the tea party. In fact, when one sees what can be done in even the viewless fields of speculation by the force of female flattery, one wishes it could be used for industrial purposes. If the means of applying it in this way could be discovered, it would make steam and water power seem feeble instruments of material progress.

There is talk of a conference between the representatives of the three Great Powers at Berlin or Vienna over the Eastern Question, which has had a reassuring effect, as indicating that Russia does not mean to pursue an isolated policy at least just yet. In the meantime, the German press has been discussing the rumor of the Czar's projected retirement and the accession of the Czarewitch with so much freedom and so many signs of uneasiness that the North German *Allgemeine Zeitung* administers to it a grave and carefully worded rebuke. This is apparently supposed to have emanated from high quarters, and to have been called forth by an article in the semi-official *Journal de St. Petersbourg*, disapproving in a patronizing way, which recalled unpleasantly the relations of Germany to Russia in the old days of the Emperor Nicholas, of the proposed acquisition of the Prussian railways by the state. The *Allgemeine Zeitung* article warns the German press against "over-estimating Russian friendship" and against "treating Russian friendship as an absolute political necessity to the German Government," and reminds it that the Russian alliance can only be valuable as long as it is based on mutual respect. It adds that even if the Czar does retire, which it thinks improbable, the Russian press might easily be led to mistake the true nature of the relations existing between the two countries if the German press were to show any uneasiness at seeing the throne occupied by the great-grandson of Queen Louisa of Prussia, the grandson of Princess

Charlotte of Prussia, and the son of a Princess of Hesse, who is hardly likely, it says, "to abandon the traditions of his ancestors and tear asunder the ties cemented by three predecessors."

The news from Bosnia and Herzegovina is, that it is acknowledged now on all hands that the Andrássy plan of pacification is a failure, the insurgents having absolutely refused to accept it, even after a threatening remonstrance from General Rodich, the Austrian governor of Dalmatia, and that, even if they had accepted it, the Turkish Government would have been unable to carry it out, owing to want of money; that a large body of Grenzers, or Borderers—about 6,000 strong—formerly composing the Austrian military colonies on the Turkish frontier, only abolished six years ago, and even now soldiers by descent and by instinct, crossed the frontier into Bosnia, well armed and well led, easily overthrew the Turkish irregulars sent against them, dispersed several small garrisons, and effected a considerable rising of the Christian population, so that the area of the conflict has spread, and its gravity has greatly increased. There are also reports of a rising in Bulgaria, and a bloody riot has occurred at Salonica, owing to the alleged attempt of the American consul to prevent a Greek girl from turning Mohammedan. The facts are not yet clearly given, but the result was serious—the French and German consuls having been massacred. The time has evidently come for an Austrian occupation of the disturbed districts, if it is to be made at all; but the objections to this are numerous and weighty, both in the eyes of Austria herself and of Russia and Germany. What is to be done next will probably be decided on in the Conference at Berlin. Russia is said to be in favor of drawing a close cordon around the disturbed districts, and then allowing the combatants to fight it out.

In Spain, the Government has been having a valiant conflict with the Pope over the grant of liberty of worship by the new constitution, which the Pope declares is not only in conflict with the Concordat, but will, if carried out, bring down unnumbered evils on the country. In fact, nothing is more curious than the facility with which the Church adapts its views about toleration to the latitude in which it speaks. In England and America, it favors the largest liberty; in Spain, and everywhere else where there is the least chance of getting the aid of the police in suppressing freedom of worship, it protests lustily against having Protestants allowed to open their mouths in prayer or praise outside their own houses. An attempt in the Cortes to amend the constitutional provision, so as to confine dissenters to private worship, was voted down by an overwhelming majority, which is a good sign. A new difficulty, hardly less formidable than the Carlist war, has arisen with the Basque Provinces, from which the rest of Spain—i.e., the conquerors in the late struggle—demand that the *fueros*, or local privileges, shall now be taken away, while the Basques as firmly declare that they will defend them at any cost. The *fueros* amount in the aggregate to practical independence, and make the connection of these provinces with the Government at Madrid hardly greater than that between our States under the old Confederation. The Basques and Navarrese elect their own municipal councils, which elect provincial assemblies, which levy the taxes and administer the government and appoint their own provincial governor, who is on a footing of equality with the corregidor—a royal commissioner sent down by the king, and who resides in the province, but has no authority, and resembles a diplomatic representative more than anything else. The share of the provinces in the national taxes is paid in a round sum by the local authorities, as if it were tribute, and it is very small in amount, and they are not subject to the conscription. They pay, in fact, no direct taxes at all, except for the support of the clergy, and, while they are cut off from the rest of Spain by the custom-house and have no right to trade with the Spanish colonies, they have absolute freedom of trade with the rest of the world. It can be easily seen that privileges of this kind, which have been held time out of memory, are not likely to be surrendered lightly in a country as badly governed as Spain.

THE REFORM OF THE PLATFORM.

THERE is, of course, nothing to be said against the strong desire and determination of the reformers in the Republican party that the person nominated for the Presidency at Cincinnati shall be himself a reformer, and not one of the men who, as has been well said, "are part of the thing to be reformed." To be a reformer, too, the candidate must be, as we endeavored to point out a fortnight ago, not simply a man who is in favor of reform in the abstract, or who is willing to do as much for reform in the Presidential chair as the existing party usages will permit, but a man who is willing to sacrifice himself for reform, willing to fight for it with the Senate and House and all the Managers, and suffer for it the endless vexations which they can inflict on him, and to trust to the people to support him in disregarding party usages. He must be a man, in short, like General Jackson, of sufficient force of character to make a revolution in the Government. Jackson made a revolution by converting the offices into party "spoils," or, in other words, by disregarding the existing usage for the gratification of his own malignity and ambition. We must now have a man who will again make a revolution and destroy the existing usage, and this time in the interest of the public; but to do this he must be, as Jackson was, a fighting man, not afraid to "embitter sentiments," or to "destroy harmony," or to "antagonize" prominent public men, or "hurt the party."

There cannot, then, be too much care taken in the choice of the candidate, for much if not all will depend on him. But, on the other hand, we trust reformers will not overlook the platform, and treat it as of no consequence, because of late years it has become, in the hands of the managers, a mere form of words signifying nothing. On the contrary, the present appears to be an excellent opportunity for reforming it as well as for reforming the candidates. It ought to be borne in mind that the platform of the party in power should differ materially from that of the party in opposition. The latter may be, and indeed can hardly help being, a mere piece of criticism, or a general declaration of principles. The former, on the other hand, should be a genuine programme of the policy to be pursued both in administration and legislation, by which the party may be afterwards judged. The Republican party has never, during its whole existence, had the kind of platform which we now need. Its object being first the restriction of slavery and then the preservation of the Union, and these being ends which admitted of large and picturesque description, while the means to them had in the nature of things to be left in the main to Providence and time, the practice of making sober and minute plans and specifications has died out among politicians. The platform of both parties has become a piece of turgid rhetoric, abounding in glittering generalities, and carefully avoiding any distinct and definite promises, and consequently supplying no means of holding the party to any strict and proper responsibility. It would have been impossible, at any time since 1865, to fasten on the Republican party any ordinary sin of commission or omission by the aid of its platforms, so carefully vague have their utterances been on all prominent topics of the day. In fact, so long as it does not actually organize a rebellion for the overthrow of the Government, it is at present useless to try to convict it out of its own mouth of any wrong-doing. It says a thing ought to be done, but does not say *when* it ought to be done; or it recommends a thing so shadowy that no critic or fault-finder can himself point out *how* it could be done; or it solemnly affirms something which no sane person ever thinks of denying, or proposes to defend something to which there is nowhere the least sign of hostility; or proclaims its desire for something to which nobody but a brute or a savage would refuse his consent. Even when it makes a specific recommendation, as, for example, of a return to specie payments or of a reform in the civil-service, it is almost sure to be so general in its terms that the party cannot be held bound to the passage of any "particular measure" which the wit of man could devise.

The general result is that the platform has become simply a dis-

play of fireworks, with which the professional politicians amuse the public during the few weeks which intervene between the nominations and the election, well knowing that after the election it will be forgotten, or that, at all events, there is nothing in it which can be made a handle of against the party management. Take as an illustration the declaration of the Philadelphia Convention in 1872 with regard to civil-service reform. It was very sweeping, and seemed to be an emphatic endorsement of the plan of reform the President was then pursuing and a condemnation of the old system. Nevertheless, when Congress met, all, or nearly all, the leading Republicans treated any attempt to change the old system with ridicule and contempt, and did so openly and without any regard to the platform.

Now, we do not mean to say that the platform should contain drafts of bills, or should even specify with minuteness what Congressional enactments should provide, or what course the Administration ought to pursue; nor do we undertake to fix the degree of particularity with which it should speak on any subject. This is a matter which must necessarily be left to the judgment of the framers of the resolutions. We simply wish to call attention to the fact that the platform must, in order to restore a proper sense of party responsibility and furnish the public with a test of party sincerity and efficiency, describe with reasonable accuracy not only what the party proposes to do, but *how* it proposes to do it. With regard to civil-service reform, it ought to give us, not general approval of reform only, or even a general proposition that reform consists in appointing good men and keeping them (for we have had this already, and it has done no good), but some account of the process by which the reform ought to be effected, sufficiently minute to enable us to ground a positive charge of treachery and deceit on any leader or manager who shirks or opposes it. And this and all else ought to be expressed in plain, homely, unambiguous English, free from cant and from bombast.

We will take leave to add that if it contained not one word about anything but civil-service reform, it would be all that the times demand; for the condition of the civil service includes almost every evil of which the American people have at this moment to complain. The seat of all the fraud and corruption and infidelity and inefficiency and negligence is to be found in it. Everything which is now most denounced in the pulpit, in the press, on the platform, and by the fireside can be surely, and for the most part directly, traced to it. Suppose the laws were faithfully executed, the taxes honestly collected, the public accounts correctly kept, all branches of the administration performed with vigor, skill, and efficiency; suppose nominations were really made by the people; suppose the best men in the State found it easy to get them; suppose the public service were attractive to that large body of the upright, sober, efficient who, unfit for strife, are willing to give faithful labor for small pay, if accompanied with security; suppose legislation were carefully considered, and framed in the light of the most recent experience of the civilized world; suppose men who had given special attention to particular subjects were listened to by Congressmen, and found little difficulty in becoming Congressmen themselves; suppose there was among all classes, and especially among the rising generation, a revival of that splendid and ennobling interest in the problems of the art of government, as applied to complicated commercial societies like ours, which distinguished the American people at the close of the last century and the beginning of this; suppose the game of trickery, chicane, and humbug which Morton, Conkling, and their kind call "politics" were to fall into disuse, and the persons who play it consigned to obscurity or forced into some honest pursuit, what should we, as citizens of a free state, have now to lament? Why, nothing—absolutely nothing. There might still be fraud, and corruption, and bad legislation; but the way to cure them, as far as may be in a world inhabited by mortal men, would be clear. The philanthropist or statesman or reformer would still have work to do in abundance, but they would work with hopefulness, and be able every day to count their gains. And what is it that hinders this most desirable consummation?

Simply, the usurpation by the legislative branch of the Government of the Executive power of making appointments to office, and the use of the power thus usurped to further the selfish aims of individuals in the almost total disregard of the public interest. The usurpation is, in fact, so great and far-reaching in its consequences that it has effected a change in the structure of the Government. The President, as he now exists, is no longer the President provided for by the Constitution; the legislature is no longer the legislature provided for by the Constitution. It has a host of new duties, to which most of its time is given, and is armed with new rights, for the protection of which almost all its votes are directly or indirectly cast. The public service is no longer the machine contemplated by the Constitution. It has no one responsible head; it works under no system of discipline or accountability. It resembles no corps of which the framers of the Government had any knowledge or foresight, and none which now exists in any civilized country. Nor is it organized either on American or foreign experience of human nature, or with reference to any peculiar needs of American business or society. It is in all respects peculiar, barbarous, unprecedented, and unparalleled. In short, the Government we live under is essentially different from that which was founded for us eighty-nine years ago, and is essentially worse, and essentially unfitted to the needs of a modern state; and the change has been effected not by legislation, but the insidious growth of an abuse begun by an unscrupulous President, and perpetuated and converted into a system by two generations of adventurers and intriguers. If the Republican party, then, wishes to bring the Republic back to the simplicity and purity of the earlier days, it must restore the old distribution of powers and duties, and reorganize the civil service on ordinary business principles. The task does not seem a great one, if we think only of the amount of labor it would require; but if we think of the effect it would produce, it seems worthy to rank with any of the greatest political changes of modern times.

SOME REASONS WHY SILVER DOES NOT CIRCULATE FREELY.

THERE is at this writing a very unpleasant hitch in the process of substituting silver for fractional currency. The fractional currency somehow disappears, and the subsidiary coins fail to appear, and the scarcity of small change is so great that it brings a premium of three or four per cent. It is now proposed to meet the difficulty by a new device, not thought of previously, namely, the redemption of greenbacks in silver, the cause of the present scarcity being supposed to be the failure of the public to bring in the fractional currency in sufficient quantities or with sufficient rapidity. Indeed, the Secretary of the Treasury is understood to be of opinion that \$10,000,000 of the \$40,000,000 of fractional currency supposed to be afloat have been destroyed, and will, therefore, never have to be redeemed at all. But there is also no doubt that the silver already issued is being hoarded in considerable quantities, by some from the novelty of the thing, and by others doubtless in expectation of a rise. At all events, the work of placing silver small change in the hands of the people is not going on by any means as easily and pleasantly as its promoters anticipated, and there is a good deal of doubt and difference of opinion as to the cause. This is very unfortunate, because "resumption," to be thoroughly successful, ought to succeed rapidly. There ought to be no question about it or want of belief in it on the part of the public, and no need for supplemental resumption, or for any patching up of the original process; and it was the fear that just such difficulties as these might arise that caused much of the opposition to the whole scheme.

The following little table, which recently appeared in the *Boston Herald*, and which is correct, helps in some degree to explain the difficulty that silver coin has in getting into circulation, and we commend it to the careful study of those who think silver small-change the first financial need of the day:

	Silver per oz. British Standard.	Silver per oz. American Standard.	Dollar in Subsidiary Coin.	Gold value of Greenbacks.
1871.....	61½d.	\$1 20.6	96.9c.	89.5c.
1872.....	60 d.	1 18.9	95.5c.	89.0c.
1873.....	59½d.	1 17.9	93.9c.	87.9c.
1874.....	58½d.	1 15.4	92.7c.	90.0c.
1875.....	57 d.	1 12.4	90.4c.	87.0c.
1876(first quarter)	54½d.	1 07.5	86.4c.	85.1c.

Two things are worthy of note in this table. One is the suddenness and recentness of the fall in the value of silver, which has made it possible for it to circulate side by side with greenbacks at all; the other is the narrowness of the margin which separates it from the greenbacks now, and the smallness of the rise in its gold value, or of the fall in the gold value of the greenbacks, which is needed to make it impossible for it to circulate at all, under the well-known rule, which is now called "Gresham's law," which forbids the currency of two kinds of money of unequal value. It must be borne in mind, too, that the possibility of keeping silver afloat among us does not depend, as is usually the case, on its preserving a certain relation to a fixed and stable commodity like gold. On the contrary, it depends on its preserving a certain relation to another kind of money even more unfixed and unstable than itself, namely, irredeemable paper; so that, in making our calculations about it, we have to take into account, not one set of fluctuations, but two. We have not only to watch the ups and downs of silver, but the ups and downs of greenbacks, which are even more inscrutable than those of silver, because the quantity of silver on the market is regulated by the returns made by the mines to human labor and capital, while the value of greenbacks depends largely on the votes of a body of men mostly ill-informed with regard to the nature and functions of currency, and strongly disposed to treat the standard of value as an affair of sentiment or party interest. When we hear Senator Jones, for instance, recommending us to use silver as our standard of value, because America is the great producer of silver and odious England the great producer of gold, or Henry C. Carey urging us to have a non-exportable standard of value, because we shall then have a truly American money all to ourselves, we feel prepared to have some other statesman recommend the use of an India-rubber yard measure, because caoutchouc is a truly American product and is best worked under American patents.

Now, when the public sees the suddenness and recentness of the fall in silver, it naturally asks itself whether what has come down so suddenly may not as suddenly go up again. In fact, silver has fluctuated in the most alarming way within the last two months. It has been as low as 52½d. in London since March 30, and now stands at 53½d.; it may be 55½d. by the 1st of June; and one of these slight oscillations might any day suddenly carry it out of the country, even supposing greenbacks to remain where they are to-day as valued in gold. But then on this point there is no certainty either. We are on the eve of a Presidential election, in which the currency question will be a leading issue; and although we believe the Republican party is on the whole sound on this question, and that the Republican candidate will in all probability be elected, we believe also that the greenback heresy has made considerable gains since Congress met; that a large proportion of the Democrats, in and out of Congress, are more or less affected by it; and that there is a feeling of uncertainty about the whole matter prevalent through the country which has much to do with the prevailing business depression. With this fog hanging over the future value of the greenback, and this very small interval between the value of the greenback and that of the new subsidiary coin, it is not surprising that the coin is found to stick fast in people's pockets and drawers when it leaves the Treasury.

It is difficult to avoid the belief, too, that both the discussions of the silver question and the legislation about it have helped to deepen the prevailing uncertainty and anxiety about the financial future, and thus to prevent the success of the silver experiment, apart altogether from the mathematical aspect of the matter. So far from being a stimulus to resumptionist opinion, we think it has weakened it, because it has revealed in a somewhat striking way the depth of

that passion for dishonesty and love of crooked ways by which some of our public men seem to be affected, as by scrofulous humor in the blood. Among the eager supporters of this scheme of silver resumption are a good many who a year ago were preaching fervently against all metallic money as barbarous and "monarchical," and lauding paper or leather money as the true democratic money of the future, but have been seized of late with an eagerness for silver money, as soon as they found that silver was fluctuating greatly in value; and they are now as anxious that the Government should resume in silver as they were a year or two ago that it should not resume at all. That is to say, their hostility to metallic currency vanished as soon as they found a metal which had lost or was losing the qualities which have, since the dawn of civilization, caused metals to be used as money. As long as silver was tolerably stable in value, and therefore fitted to be a standard, they would none of it; as soon as it began to resemble paper in its capacity of increase, and in the fluctuations of its purchasing power, they took it up, thus giving strong reason to believe that what they seek in a circulating medium is not a standard of value so much as an instrument for fraud. They have taken to silver as "the poor man's money" and the money of "the debtor class," because in its present condition it would, as a legal tender, afford abundant opportunities for cheating and give trade an aleatory character. The best money to them is what the rest of the world would call rogues' money, and as long as it is rogues' money they care nothing whether it is dug out of the ground or made of pulp and printed.

Twenty years ago, England and Portugal were the only countries in the civilized world using the gold standard exclusively. The others used silver, or both metals. Since then Germany has given up silver; so has Holland; so have Sweden and Norway and Denmark. If Russia and Austria could resume specie payments, they would undoubtedly resume in gold. Austria is at this moment endeavoring to accumulate gold for the purpose, and so in a smaller way is Russia. In the Imperial Bank at St. Petersburg the stock of gold is steadily increasing, that of silver steadily decreasing. We here in 1873 abandoned the double standard, and fell back on gold exclusively. The only countries which hold on to silver now are France, Italy, Belgium, and Switzerland, forming what is called the Latin Union, but these have had to enter into a convention restricting their coinage of silver to a certain fixed amount for each state, and, unless all signs fail, when France resumes specie payments she will resume in gold. The reason of this general abandonment of silver is simply that the late enormous increase in its quantity, and great fluctuations in its value, were depriving it of the qualities necessary to a standard of value, and converting it into rogues' money. Is it not marvellous and humiliating that it is this very circumstance which makes it attractive to many of our own statesmen, and causes them to clamor for having it made a legal tender, if not for any amount, for as great an amount as possible? They are so republican, they say, that the mere sight of a monarchy or aristocracy seeking honestly to pay its debts and keep its contracts, gives in their eyes a certain dignity and elevation to cheating and counterfeiting.

Of course, all this is no argument against the use of silver coin as token money, and legal tender for small amounts, if you have a gold standard in actual use. But it is an argument against it if you are living on irredeemable and depreciated paper. The problem of keeping it afloat then offers too much uncertainty, and too strong a temptation to gamble in both the metal and the paper. Attempting to use it, too, as we are now doing, before we have made any adequate arrangements for the restoration of gold payments, is producing new and unnecessary complication in the whole financial problem, causing the purchase of silver for more than it is worth by the sacrifice of gold which we need for other purposes, arresting the export of silver in place of gold, and rousing in the breasts of politicians, by the use of a depreciated coinage in the discharge of lawful debts, that rage for tortuous modes of dealing with the public obligations to which the prolongation of our financial imbroglio is largely due.

SCEAUX.

PARIS, April 21, 1876.

IT is no great distance from Paris to Sceaux, where once lived the celebrated Duc and Duchesse du Maine. I lately had the curiosity to see what remained of their famous estate. You reach it by the most singular little railway, constructed on a plan now quite abandoned. The carriages are made to run over the most complicated curves. You pass by the great reservoir where the waters of the Vanne were brought by the celebrated M. Haussmann—a work quite worthy of the Romans, which will soon supply Paris with abundant and pure water. The small line of railway stops at Sceaux, after passing under the new aqueduct, which reminded me of the aqueducts of the Roman Campagna, though it lacks their noble proportions and looks more like a common railway viaduct. Sceaux is on the top of a lovely hill, covered with orchards and small villas. The old estate is completely surrounded, as were all royal parks, by a wall. It belongs now to a grandson of the famous Marshal Mortier, one of the great Napoleon's iron marshals; and I was conducted all over it by him. The Marquis de Trévise—for such is the name he bears, as his grandfather was made Duc de Trévise, and he is only a younger son—devotes his energies and all his surplus revenue to the complete restoration of the old palace. The grounds, fortunately, have not been altered; they are a magnificent specimen of the noble art of Le Nôtre, the great gardener, who deserves to hold his place in the Pleiad of men who surrounded the "grand siècle" with its glorious halo; he disposed the alleys, the terraces, the water-works, the canals, the ponds, in that admirable style which can be seen at Versailles. Through one great alley you see on the horizon the old tower of Montlhéry, so famous in the Middle Ages. The numerous springs have been well collected, and form a most beautiful system of water-works, which adds much beauty to the trees. I may be suspected of partiality, but in my opinion the Le-Nôtre system of gardening, which formed a sort of transition between architecture and wild nature, is most admirable. It is quite different from the English gardening, with its winding alleys and conscious disorders. It has a beauty of its own, made of order, of symmetry, of simple forms.

At the time of the Revolution, Sceaux was the property of the Due de Penthièvre, often called the "bon Duc." The people of Sceaux were very much attached to him, and even the Convention never troubled him in his solitude: but after the execution of Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette he retired to a small house in Normandy, where he was allowed to die in peace. Sceaux was confiscated, and given over to the Commissioners of the Convention; all the works of art and the furniture were transported to Paris and placed in the museums. The place was left without any protection, and every piece of brass, of iron, of lead, soon disappeared; the great railings, the balustrades, and even the marble slabs of the mantels, were robbed. When Marshal Mortier took possession of it, the old palace was an empty shell. It was too large for modern life, and the son of Marshal Mortier built a new house, which is still palatial, but only of moderate proportions. This house was occupied for several months during the siege of Paris by the German troops, and there is now absolutely nothing left in it. The mirrors and mantels are broken, the floors in front of the chimney-places are burned, and will have to be changed.

Of the old buildings of the time of the Duchesse du Maine only two remain—one was the picture-gallery, and was used for a long time, indeed until now, as a barn. The walls are still beautiful; the ceiling has been destroyed, and, instead of pictures, you see only the roof. The present owner intends to restore this gallery, which fully deserves it. It is rather odd that in this great work of destruction one small pavilion has always been respected: it is called the "Pavillon de l'Aurore." The middle room is covered by a cupola, in which there is a magnificent ceiling of Lebrun's, which has been engraved. There are two side rooms, of very small size, which had also ceilings by the same artist; but these have been carried off by the Marquis de Trévise to his new hôtel in the Champs Elysées, and will be replaced by copies. Lebrun is not my favorite painter, but he had much "noblesse," and, if you once admit his mythological style, it must be confessed that his drawing was good and his color sometimes very happy. This "Pavillon de l'Aurore" was the favorite haunt of the Duchesse du Maine; in it were spent the famous *grandes nuits de Sceaux*, which are not yet forgotten.

The Duc du Maine was a son of Louis XIV. and of Madame de Montespan. He married the second daughter of the Prince de Condé. He was a great favorite of Louis XIV., who allowed him in the Parliament to the great disgust of the old nobility, a place between the princes of the blood and the peers. He bought the house of Sceaux, where Colbert, and after him M. de Seignelay, had spent large sums of money, for a million of livres. There were, besides, statues in the gardens to the value of 100,000 livres.

None of them remain now except a very few, among the number two groups over the gates by the famous Coysevox, who has left such remarkable works at Versailles and in the Tuilleries. Saint-Simon has related in the minutest details every incident of the life of the Duc du Maine. Louis XIV. gave him all sorts of prerogatives, loaded him with money and with favors. He could never make him a legitimate child. The Duchesse du Maine espoused, of course, the cause of her husband; but she could not help despising him, and her conjugal life was full of storms. She consoled herself for the inconveniences of her position with the pleasures of Sceaux. She spent there much of her time, and maintained quite a court of her own. As many as five hundred followers and servants were established on the estate and in the palace. She had her poets, her prelates, her abbés, her musicians, her painters. She spent untold sums of money on fireworks, balls, comedies. She had a fondness for the stage, and kept playing comedies with her ladies and gentlemen, and with some old comedians, who gave her lessons. The whole Court used to go to Sceaux, and had to applaud the little Duchess, who entered into her rôles with the greatest confidence.

This is the way in which Saint-Simon describes the Duc du Maine: "With the *esprit*, I will not say of an angel, but of the Devil, whom he resembled so much in malignity, in blackness, in perversity of soul, in bad services to all, in good offices to nobody, in profound combinations, in haughty pride, in exquisite falsehood, in numberless artifices, in measureless simulation, and, moreover, in charm, in the art of pleasing, amusing, those whom he wished to please; he was a coward in heart and spirit, and so much so, that he was extremely dangerous, and most capable, if only it was underhand, of going to the most terrible extremities to oppose what he feared." This sentence, which stops your breath, is truly Saint-Simonian, as well as this picture of the Duchess: "He was moreover tossed about by a woman of the same sort, whose *esprit*—and she had an infinite amount of it—had been spoiled and corrupted completely by the constant reading of novels and plays, into the passions of which she threw herself so completely that she spent years in learning them by heart and in playing them publicly herself. She had an excessive courage: she was enterprising, audacious, furious, only knowing the passing passion, and postponing everything to it; indignant at the prudence and the measures of her husband, which she treated as miseries of weakness, whom she reproached with the honor she had done him in marrying him, whom she belittled and humbled before her, treating him as a negro, ruining him fundamentally, without his daring to say a word." Such was the happy couple who lived at Sceaux. The ambition of the little Duchess knew no bounds. She had the pride of a Condé, and when death began to play havoc with the direct line of Louis XIV.'s children; when Monseigneur first, called the Grand Dauphin, and afterwards the Duc de Bourgogne died, the Duc du Maine seriously thought he might become king of France. Louis XIV. by degrees had obtained from Parliament resolutions more and more favorable to the children of Madame de Montespan. In the end, the Duc du Maine and his brother, the handsome and silly Comte de Toulouse, were declared real princes of the blood and capable of succeeding to the crown. The Duc du Maine became the personal and bitter enemy of the Duc d'Orléans, who stood between him and the throne. He made himself the intimate ally of Madame de Maintenon, in the hope of governing Louis XIV. entirely through her. Through her influence, Louis XIV. made a will which practically gave all the power to the Duc du Maine. When this will was read in a solemn session of the Parliament, there was a sort of stupefaction. The will was full of instructions as to the *bastards*, the education of the future king, Madame de Maintenon, and Saint-Cyr. It established a Council of Regency, and gave to the Duc du Maine the care of the children of the young king.

Parliament did not respect the will of Louis XIV.; it gave to the Regent the whole of the regal power, and the Duc du Maine fell from the height of his ambitions and hopes. The Duke and Duchess became the open enemies of the Regent. Lagrange-Chancel, who wrote the infamous "Philippiques" in which the Regent was accused of having got rid by poison of the children of Louis XIV., was an inmate of Sceaux, and one of the favorite poets of the Muse of the *Pavillon de l'Aurore*. The Regent kept him a little while in prison, and then pardoned him. He showed himself equally merciful in the affair of the Cellamare conspiracy, in which the Duc and Duchesse du Maine took a part. Cellamare was the Spanish ambassador, but was disavowed by his Government. The Duc du Maine was arrested and kept in confinement at Doullens. His arrest took place at Sceaux, when he was coming out of his own chapel, which has now become the church of the place. At the same moment, Madame du Maine was arrested in Paris by the Duc d'Ancenis, who was captain of the guards.

She was conducted to Dijon, where she was kept in the Château under the guard of her own uncle, M. le Duc. Afterwards she obtained permission to go to Châlon-sur-Saône, and to stay in a neighboring château. She regretted Sceaux, and began to make revelations. In her interrogatories, she brought strong accusations against Cellamare and others, and tried to save her husband's credit as much as she could. She was finally allowed to go back to Sceaux, where the Duke also returned.

The time of the "grandes nuits" was past; the court of Sceaux became deserted; only a few followers remained faithful to the fiery little Duchess. It may be that the quiet beauty of the scenery consoled her for all she had lost. Even now, after all the ravages of revolution and of war, it is impossible not to feel it. The work of Le Nôtre survives the work of painters and sculptors; and there is a strange poetry in the old deserted estate, in the dormant waters, in the long avenues now covered with grass. The Duchesse du Maine was, so to speak, the caricature of a great woman. Sceaux, though it is not very large, is not a miniature of Versailles: it is as beautiful in its natural lines and dispositions.

THE QUESTION OF THE GERMAN RAILWAYS.

GERMANY, April 21, 1876.

If our railroads had already found their historian, some of the chapters of the book would be counted among the most drastic illustrations of the political misery of Germany up to 1866. The pettiest Prince could, and very often did, throw obstacles in the way of enterprises upon which, at no very remote day, the very existence of the nation was to depend. The proverbial German patience had to be exercised to its utmost extent to overcome these difficulties, created not by any interest of these pocket-states in conflict with the interests of the great whole, but merely by the pride of sovereignty of their rulers—mostly ciphers in every respect but the mischief they could and did do. If common report may be relied upon, the heartburnings caused by the railroad question in its early stages are even at this day not wholly extinct. It is said that one of the Princes in 12mo yet in existence is still made to undergo punishment for his former bad behavior toward one of the main lines, by having to wait a considerable time for all the fast trains at the station where it is joined by the branch-line traversing his "state." This may be, and probably is, a fable. An undeniable and universally-acknowledged fact, however, is that it is principally due to the checkered aspect of the old German map, for which the schoolboy's paint-box was far from containing colors enough, that our railroad system is at present in a most unsatisfactory condition. The former inability of our governments to procure in any way whatever large funds, and their mistaken policy with regard to railroad-building, have contributed their share to bring about this result. There are to-day not less than sixty-three different and, in the main, independent railroad administrations. In going from Karlsruhe to Berlin—i.e., traversing about half of the whole extent of Germany from south to north—one travels on seven different roads. The passenger has, at least on the main lines, comparatively little to suffer from this state of things, but the merchant, and anybody else who has to send goods a great distance, is made to feel the evil consequences of it in a high degree. It is absolutely impossible to calculate beforehand, with any exactness, the cost of freight. Last fall, a member of the Prussian Landtag, before removing from the Rhine to Berlin, enquired at the proper place how much the transporting of his furniture would cost. At Berlin, a bill was sent in considerably exceeding the amount stated. He paid it under protest, and brought his complaints before the proper authorities. Then sixty thalers, more than one-sixth of the whole amount charged, were returned with the statement that the calculations of both officials, the one at his former place of residence and the one in Berlin, had been wrong; but it was added, as an excuse, that they could not be blamed very severely for it, because the goods had to come over four different roads, each of which had different charges.

Now, if four different tariffs are an excuse for such a miscalculation, inasmuch as the whole number of railroad tariffs in Germany is 1,357, the chance for just complaint seems very remote. It is therefore not astonishing that even one of the most important cities in South Germany, where political prejudices would tend to favor a leaning in the opposite direction, should call this chaos "simply insupportable." The necessity of a comprehensive reform is indeed admitted almost without an opposing voice. The question was brought before the authorities of the Empire at an early date, and several attempts have been made to remedy at least the worst features of the present system, or rather lack of system. So far as my knowledge goes, it is also not denied by anybody that some good has been effected by the "Reichs-Eisenbahnamt" (Imperial Railroad Bureau), while, on the other hand, a large

majority contend that the little it has been able to do only serves as an additional proof that it is constitutionally incapable of accomplishing what the national welfare requires as the very least that should be done. The Prussian Government has based this opinion upon the broad principle that such a gigantic task never can be solved unless there is, instead of the right of a hardly more than advisory superintendence, full authority given, which, of course, also implies full responsibility; in other words, it wants all the railroads to become, in the course of time, the property of the Empire, and is now asking the consent of the Landtag to enter at once upon the realization of this plan by tendering to the Empire the Prussian railroads owned by the state. Your readers will have known long ago that in Saxony, Bavaria, and Württemberg the Government and the Chambers are heartily agreed in the most decided opposition to the whole project, while Baden and Hesse-Darmstadt seem to have resolved upon a prudently reserved attitude, so that they may be sure of getting the best terms in case it should be necessary to yield. What the chances of the project are in the Prussian Landtag appears to be as yet a little doubtful, though the prevailing opinion evidently is that the Government will secure a majority. That the Ultramontanes will be in the opposition is a foregone conclusion, as they are, in their present mood, opposed to everything tending to increase the strength of the Empire. Among the *Fortschrittspartei* the disposition of the majority also seems to be pretty decidedly unfavorable. The National Liberals, with perhaps a few exceptions, are agreed with the Government in principle, so that with them the only question will be whether they can come to an agreement about the details; these, however, also involve questions, nay, principles, of the greatest importance and a change of the constitution.

From the first moment the most prominent members of the party have declared that their assent would depend upon the willingness of the Government to give sufficient guarantees against an easy abuse of the enormous power to be entrusted to the Empire. I say purposely to the *Empire*, and not to the *Government*, for one of the principal guarantees asked will be that the Reichstag shall also in this respect be a co-ordinate power, exercising in some respects, as for instance the determining of the tariff, a direct and controlling influence. The absolute necessity of this will be readily admitted even by the staunchest partisans of the project, because the uncontrolled power over the railroad tariffs would also actually give the Government full power to weigh exclusively in the scales of its own wisdom the respective claims of free trade and a protective tariff—a question which, in consequence of the general prostration of business, has of late been agitated with great and constantly-increasing vehemence. But that is not all. The friends of the project are further agreed that the immediate consequence of its adoption would have to be the creation of two Cabinet Ministers of the Empire—one for the finances and the other for everything relating to the means of communication (*Verkehrs-Ministerium*). This would involve a change of the constitution, and the opposition in the Bundesrat would gladly avail itself of the opportunity to use the constitutional cloak as a domino which might, to some unusually dim eyes, effectually cover their aversion to yielding anything more of their sovereignty to the wants of the Empire. A private understanding with the Chancellor on this question will, therefore, be deemed sufficient until after the main question has been carried. That this will be soon the case is hardly likely, for the minor powers are thus far to be considered as unanimous, and they will have the majority in the Bundesrat. That was, however, foreseen, and therefore it does not deter the Chancellor from pursuing his plan as if its ultimate success were certain. And in this he most likely is right, provided our whole political structure be not shaken once more to its very foundations by a general European catastrophe. The corner-stone of the present Empire was the Zollverein, which was laid by Prussia at a time when she had almost renounced her rank as one of the five great powers of Europe, when Germany was hardly more than a geographical name, and when the opposition to her plans was quite as unanimous and much more passionate than it is at present. Her present task is easy in comparison with what she then undertook and accomplished; and certainly it is not to be supposed that a Bismarck will strike his flag where an Eichhorn knew how to keep his flying. He has already announced in a formal and official way what he will do next in case he is left in the minority in the Bundesrat. Prussia will then at once set herself to buying up as fast as possible all the railroads within her own boundaries. The importance of this the Opposition understand full well. The Württemberg Minister, Von Mitnacht, who indulged in a rather unexpectedly vehement philippic against the Chancellor's project, had to confess: "I do not contest that Prussia, if she concentrates all the railroads in her territory, will acquire an enormous power, but we cannot suppose that she will abuse it." Well, the thing is only that what Mr. Von Mitnacht would consider an abuse, Bismarck is likely to deem the

best use he can make of it. As the acquisition of this "enormous power" is with him avowedly a means to attain his ultimate end, it is rather strange to suppose that he will not use it to further his purposes.

I have, in this letter, purposely refrained from commenting at all upon the economical and political bearings of the project. Even French writers admit that, leaving aside whatever is quite peculiar to Germany in it or would have a strong bearing upon the decision of the great question how far state-sovereignty will be absorbed by the Empire, it is an experiment, the success or failure of which would be in the highest degree instructive and valuable to all the rest of the European powers; and, furthermore, that Germany is in a better condition than any of them to make the experiment in such a manner that the experience gained will render possible the deduction of general principles. If this be so, it must be very indifferent to your readers what your correspondent happens to think on a question of such paramount importance. They will be better served if, in due course of time, he furnishes them with an abstract of the opinions of the different political parties, as they will be expressed in the debates of the Prussian Landtag.

Correspondence.

GENERAL ART INSTRUCTION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The late sharp criticisms in the *Nation* upon the present method of art-instruction in the public schools of Massachusetts create a desire to know what scheme the writers would wish to substitute for that which is now in vogue. Every one must agree with the article of April 13, that it is extremely important that this subject should be thoroughly discussed, and, I would add, always in a liberal, just, and courteous spirit.

As the writers of these criticisms have been striving to destroy the present building, will they not kindly state in what manner they would wish to rebuild the edifice? Many persons would be very glad to have them draw up an exact scheme, *without vagueness*, which might be practically carried out, so that the ideas of the critics may be clearly understood. What methods would they employ in the public schools by which the children should be led up to the power of making the most beautiful and artistic designs, when they become artisans? What would be the best teaching in advanced art-schools for those few who should develop so much talent that, upon leaving the public schools, they should wish to devote their lives to the pursuit of pure art-training?

Trusting soon to see an answer to these questions in your columns, believe me, Very truly yours,

C. A. L.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS., April 24, 1876.

[In reply to our correspondent, "C. A. L.", we must preface a direct answer to his questions by saying that we do not believe that any useful scheme of art-instruction can be organized and put into operation on a large scale. Instruction in *art* cannot be carried out in public schools, because it can be imparted only to pupils of advanced development and with special gifts. And instruction in *drawing*, which perhaps is what is now often meant by "art-instruction," is equally removed from the category of common-school studies by the fact that under present conditions a sufficient number of competent instructors do not exist, either here or in Europe, and cannot be quickly called into being. We consider the recent movement in Massachusetts a mistake, even if it were judged only on this ground, since by ignoring the necessity of trained teachers it shows a wholly inadequate estimate of what is rightly involved in art-instruction, and of the proper means of artistic training for industrial or other ends. Were we to suggest anything as a substitute for the "scheme now in vogue," it would be one which should modestly undertake, in the lower schools, the simple training of eye and hand to see and represent visual objects of common observation with a sufficient degree of correctness, without immediate consideration of any kind of artistic effect or elaborate finish of execution. By this discipline would be disclosed such artistic capacities in individuals as might be afterwards developed.

As to the details of such a scheme, it is not possible under present conditions to settle them so as to frame an entirely complete,

comprehensive, and final system; indeed, we would offer especial warning against any so-called "well-digested" popular systems of recent growth. These systems all take their character from the general tone of modern thought, which is commercial and not artistic, and, when carefully examined, they prove to be lacking in the consistent development of the great principles which underlie all serious, intelligent work, whether of imaginative or decorative art. These principles may be derived from the study of the best schools of art, and they are applicable to our needs as to those of all art-students; they may be "clearly stated" and "practically carried out," though many details of method and procedure in instruction must require experience to perfect.

A scheme of instruction in drawing for the lower schools, based on these principles, might be somewhat as follows:

1. Elementary training of the eye in accuracy of measurement of formal line, and of the hand in precision in drawing it—not formal *patterns*, which are ugly things of necessity, and destructive of delicacy of perception.

2. Elementary training of eye and hand in precision of vital lines—*i.e.*, lines which describe the contours of natural and mostly living objects.

3. Exercise in color without chiaroscuro.

4. Training of the eye in perception of the gradation of shade in natural objects, and of the eye and hand in rendering it.

5. Training of the eye in discernment of linear perspective.

6. Exercise in color with simple chiaroscuro.

This we consider [about as much as can with any security be undertaken. The effort to teach children any sort of "original design" is utterly short-sighted and futile.

In advanced schools for pupils who had received this elementary training, and still more in special art-schools, wherever truly competent instructors could be found, something more like proper art-instruction might have place. Such general principles of design as are capable of definition and illustration might be taught, with the aid of collections of carefully-chosen examples. And we should say that the directors of such instruction would do well to seek guidance from the older schools of art—as Florence and Venice—rather than from the recent ones of England, Germany, and France.

But all this should be done, in our judgment, with a view simply to the culture of individual perception, thought, and feeling.—ED. NATION.]

Notes.

D. APPLETON & CO. have published in two volumes the second, thoroughly revised edition of Darwin's "Variation of Animals and Plants under Domestication." It is, perhaps, worth remarking, as showing the concatenation of all works of genius, that Darwin acknowledges in his preface (p. 10) his indebtedness to Malthus ("On Population") for help towards the doctrine of Natural Selection; while, as we lately pointed out in our review of Godwin, the latter's "Political Justice" was the occasion of the publication of Malthus's work. The "Variation of Animals" was reviewed on its first appearance in the *Nation* of March 19, 1868 (Vol. VI., No. 142).—Roberts Brothers have bound together Mr. Hamerton's "Sylvan Year" and "Unknown River" in a convenient 12mo volume with large print. The connection between these two very dissimilar works is to be found in the fact that the scene of each is laid in France, and that Mr. Hamerton gives us his delightful companionship *a' fresco*. The etchings of the quarto edition of the "Unknown River" are not reproduced, and, in fact, they could better be spared than the text, in our opinion, agreeable as many of them are. In their place, a portrait of the author himself is very acceptable. Roberts Brothers have also bound together the earlier and later poems of Christina Rossetti—the "Goblin Market, and Other Poems," and the "Prince's Progress, and Other Poems"—retaining the separate paging and title-pages. This, too, will be welcome to all who love genuine poetry.—The foreigner and the native excursionist alike are beset already with numerous guide-books—none quite so admirable as some foreign models we could mention. The Riverside Press issues "Boston to Washington," which readily splits up into "Centennial Guide-books to the Lead-

ing Cities of the United States"—to wit, New York, Washington, Philadelphia, etc. It is a not very juicy or inviting compendium, and while it may compete in accuracy (as far as it goes) with Appleton's "Handbook of American Cities," the latter is more evidently the product of skill and industry, and of an ambition to bring everything down to the very latest date. The illustrations of the "Handbook" are also good and fresh. The "Official Guide-book to Philadelphia," by Thompson Westcott (Porter & Coates), appears to be an excellent performance in every respect. It exceeds 400 pages, and is profusely illustrated.—A weekly paper devoted to the industrial interests of women, and called the *New Century*, is to be published at the Woman's Department, Centennial Grounds, Philadelphia, whither communications and subscriptions (\$2 for six months) may be directed. It will take cognizance of women's work as represented at the Exposition, and will seek especially to obtain information and statistics concerning the newest openings for women in trades, handicrafts, art, the professions, etc.—Geo. P. Rowell & Co. send out an eleventh-hour notice that their newspaper pavilion at the Exposition will have a corner for specimens of old newspapers and other curiosities of journalism—for example, such as abounded at the South in the straits of the civil war. They should be sent to the pavilion. By consent of the owners they will, at the close of the Exposition, be "transferred to some historical society or museum."—A. Williams & Co., Boston, have just published in large 8vo, illustrated, the "Celebration of the Centennial Anniversary of the Evacuation of the British Army, March 17, 1776, etc., with Dr. Ellis's oration; and in square folio a "Heliotype of Washington's Autograph Address to the Officers of the American Army at Newburgh, March 15, 1783." They have also for free distribution a pamphlet of twenty-nine pages issued by the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture, which contains a list of prizes offered by them (to all Massachusetts landowners), ranging from \$400 to \$1,000, together with explicit directions for procuring and setting-out certain trees, and Mr. C. S. Sargent's essay on tree-planting noticed in No. 561 of the *Nation*.

—A new method of advertising has been devised which, now that attention is called to it, we have no doubt will meet with much favor. It consists in getting a charter from Congress for an institution to promote the particular thing for which notoriety is desired, said institution to be located in the unfortunate District of Columbia and to be called "National." For instance, House Bill No. 2680 is "a bill to incorporate the National Surgical Institute of the District of Columbia." From a large and illustrated handbill of this institution, which, it seems, flourishes in Indiana and one or two other places, we learn that it consists mainly of a Dr. Allen, who advertises himself as specially skilled in the cure of deformities and private diseases. Following this, we shall no doubt have a National Institute chartered by Congress for Smith's Expectorant, Brown's Magnetic Baths, and Jones's Pain-Killer. We foresee difficulties in store for those legislators who attempt to nationalize their own doctors in this way; but from the advertisers' point of view the idea is magnificent.

—In *Lippincott's* for May we have a translation of Turgeneff's "Watch: an Old Man's Story." The story is not long, and as usual it contains one female character of great loveliness; but a more sordid and despairing background to set it off has scarcely been invented even by this writer. Mr. Hart's "Berlin and Vienna" takes for its starting-point the question, "The downfall of European Turkey being conceded as a foregone conclusion, which of the two races, the Slavic or the Germanic, is to oversee and carry out the reconstruction of the region of the lower Danube?" Berlin and Vienna are then considered not as rivals but as co-workers in effecting a "Pangermanic reflux"; and the conclusion is reached that if Prussia could be got to favor a North-German colonization of the Danube, Austria could probably build up there in time a really German nation. Doubtless, when the time comes Prussia will prefer to send emigrants that way rather than to America; but doubtless, too, she has some calculations in regard to Austria which concern the upper sooner than the lower Danube. Mr. Hart gives a good deal of interesting information about the two capitals. "An Old House and its Story" tells of Benedict Arnold's country-seat, Mount Pleasant, near Philadelphia. Of Arnold and of André we hear again at greater length in *Harper's*. André in particular furnishing material for a number of illustrations in Mr. Lossing's "Romance of the Hudson," as well as in Mrs. Rebecca Harding Davis's "Old Philadelphia." This is all pleasant reading, for, one must confess, we are nearly a hundred years off from the treason and the hanging, and can read of both with nearly the same equanimity as of the Mischianza. Mr. Hudson Holly writes sensibly in *Harper's* of "Modern Dwellings"; of his designs we need hardly speak, as he does not withhold his own appreciation of them. In "Daniel Deonda" we reach a crisis at last, and leave Gwendolen engaged to Grand-

court ; and, as we may say, borrowing a Celtic locution, "there's a pair of 'em."

—The May number of the *Galaxy* contains an article by Mr. Marcus A. Casey, called "A Plea for a Patriot," in which the once-familiar and now rather neglected services of Thomas Paine to the cause of liberty in the last century are recalled. The article contains, in the extracts it reproduces from Paine's writings, the best possible apology for the decadence of his fame, and makes it evident that his writing, such as it was, in the cause of Independence derived its chief value from local and temporary causes. Its popularity is now certainly difficult to understand. The following passage from No. 3 of the *Crisis* would hardly be considered in these days a conclusive argument :

"The natural right of the continent to independence is a point which was never yet called in question. It will not even admit of a debate. To deny such a right would be a kind of atheism against nature ; and the best answer to such an objection would be : 'The fool hath said in his heart, there is no God.'"

Nor is the satire of the following, from No. 5, addressed to Sir William Howe, quite equal to Junius :

"But how, sir, shall we dispose of you ? The invention of a statuary is exhausted, and Sir William is yet unprovided with a monument. America is anxious to bestow her funeral favors upon you, and wishes to do it in a manner that shall distinguish you from all the deceased heroes of the last war. The Egyptian method of embalming is not known to the present age, and hieroglyphical pageantry hath outlived the science of deciphering it. Some other method, therefore, must be thought of to immortalize the new knight of the windmill and post. Sir William, thanks to his stars, is not oppressed with very delicate ideas. He has no ambition of being wrapped up and handed about in myrrh, aloes, and cassia. It fortunately happens that the simple genius of America hath discovered the art of preserving bodies, and embellishing them too, with much greater frugality than the ancients. In balmage, sir, of humble tar, you will be as secure as Pharaoh, and in a decoration of feathers rival in finery all the mummies of Egypt."

Paine was a useful man, as his active employment by the leaders of the time sufficiently shows ; but the total explosion of the "natural-rights" philosophy on which he, like so many other pamphleteers of the day, based his appeals to the public, has left his writings without point or applicability.

—The daily life of the journalist has always been wrapped in a good deal of mystery, and there is no part of it less open to the light of day than that which relates to his means of sustaining life. The banker's, the merchant's, and the lawyer's meals beget very little curiosity or interest, but doubt always surrounds the food and drink of the journalist. Where he eats or what he eats is alike unknown, and the attempts now and then made to furnish a key to the enigma have not generally been crowned with success. The *World*, which with one or two other papers has been recently devoting a good deal of its time to what may be called controversial gastronomy, has been investigating the subject of dining in New York, apropos of the closing of the New York Hotel, a house formerly well-known as the headquarters of a certain class of Southern society (which, however, had more enlightened and advanced views on the subject of cooling drinks than on that of cooking), and gloomily declares that "prohibitory prices still rule in nearly every house"—a state of affairs which ought to give a valuable hint as to the financial prospects of hotel property to the writer of the depressing money article in the *Tribune*. The *World* then proceeds, in the interests of economy, to investigate the question of what a really simple dinner can be had for—what the *World* calls "a good but not extravagant dinner of several courses"—and, proceeding experimentally, makes out a *menu* from the bill of a restaurant showing that the cost of such a dinner would be between five and six dollars, or about \$2,000 a year. "No wonder," the *World* adds, "those who can live abroad do so." This dinner includes soup, fish, two courses of meat, two kinds of vegetables, two kinds of dessert, coffee, Cognac, and a pint of La Rose claret, costing no less than two dollars, and the sum-total does seem to amount to a "prohibitory" price. We are sorry to see that though the *World*'s article is entirely impersonal, there is a tendency among its contemporaries to sneer at this *menu* as the product of the excited brain of a hungry and ill-fed man, rather than as representing the actual dinner of any person or class of persons of whose habits the *World* is likely to be cognizant. One paper has pointed out that the *World* does not give this as an actual dinner, which it has had means of trying, but as one which it has "made out" from a bill of fare, and intimates that it is really a dinner for two persons, not one, and that therefore the cost should be reduced to \$2 70 ; but to this the *World* replies that the portions are not big enough for two, speaking on the

point with a warmth that indicates a settled conviction ; while another paper publishes a communication from a correspondent who, assuming the character of a restaurant-keeper (though evidently himself a journalist), declares that no member of the profession whom he knows anything about makes more than one meal a day, which he obtains under false pretences, first calling for a glass of beer for the sum of five cents, and then devouring whatever he finds spread before him on the counter, without further payment. Such is the present state of the controversy, which cannot yet be said to have made either the cost of living or the habits of the journalistic class very clear, though it shows clearly how interesting controversy is when absolutely divorced from all utilitarian ends.

—Our Southern brethren make a use of the despised mule which enables them to gratify several very human instincts at once. On the 29th of last month there was a great mule race at the Fair Grounds, New Orleans, with twelve entries. The designations of the animals were extraordinary. There was the "mule Débutante, sixteen years old, out of School by Accident, dam Precocious" ; the "mule Cotton Exchange, three years old, by Perseverance out of Misfortune, dam Creditable" ; and the like. But others of the contestants could boast a distinctly political pedigree. Thus, we read of the "mule Post-trader, five years old, by Belknap out of War Department, dam Corrupt" ; of "mule Bandit, two years old, by Phil. Sheridan out of White League, dam Lyre" ; with "mule White League" itself, "two years old, by Desperation out of Stern Necessity, dam Successful." "Mule Bandit" came near turning the laugh by winning the first race, but was, however, distanced by "mule Centennial" ; and when, as we are told, "the long body of the Anniversary of the Declaration of Independence crossed the line a length in advance of the descendant of Sheridan, a wild tumult raged among the spectators." The "descendant of Sheridan," nevertheless, had one more chance in the "consolation dash of two miles" which followed, and improved it by coming in first. "The occasion," concludes the *Picayune*'s reporter, "was in every respect a delightful one, and certainly no one regretted their contribution to the benefit of the Protestant Episcopal Home."

—The decision of the Centennial Commission to close the Exhibition on Sundays has called out a marked and almost unanimous expression of disapproval from the secular press, and it is greatly to be hoped that the action of the Commission will be reversed or modified. We do not complain of the question having been discussed on religious grounds only, because these are the grounds which naturally present themselves first and most directly ; but it ought to be remembered, even by religious men, that even the Protestant world is divided as to the proper mode of keeping the Sabbath, and that the views of the Evangelical Christians of this country and of England on the subject are not only not accepted by, but excite the surprise of, those of France, Germany, Sweden, Denmark, to say nothing of the Catholics. Considering, therefore, that our Exhibition is an international one, to which we have invited all the world, the duty of imposing our views of Sabbath-keeping on all our foreign guests, and on our own foreign-born population, and confining them on one day in the week to the hotels and boarding-houses of a hot city, is not fairly deducible from our own appreciation of the advantages of our American Sunday. We know all that may be said as to the possible or even probable effect of keeping the Exhibition open in diminishing the popular reverence for the day as it is now kept by American usage ; but this can hardly be as great as the effect of travel in Continental countries, to which tens of thousands of Americans resort every year, and we have never heard of an American pastor advising one of his flock not to go to Europe on this account. On the contrary, he advises him to go ; tells him that the way foreigners pass Sunday is none of his business, though it is his business to pass his own Sunday in the way his conscience approves of, wherever he may be. We think a similar rule ought to be adopted in Philadelphia. The differences of opinion and practice current in the religious world touching the proper observance of Sunday, and the international character of the show, ought to be recognized by opening it for those who think it no wrong to go there on Sunday, and those who think differently would thus be left free to stay away. We do not think either the Centennial Board or the Board of Finance exactly competent to treat any portion of the visitors, whether home or foreign, as children, or uninstructed or immoral persons, or to settle for them disputed points of Christian doctrine or practice. The fight for the Puritan Sabbath has been a long and losing one. Much of it has disappeared, but all that was really good in it remains among us. There is danger, however, that this too may be put in peril by forcing it intolerably on persons as conscientious and religious as ourselves, who do not see in it either a means of edification or enjoyment.

—Sir Robert Walpole and his time have furnished so much comfort to the corruptionists and apologists of corruption during the last few years that Bolingbroke's 'Freeholder's Catechism,' which made its appearance during the debased period of English politics that gives us so much consolation (1700-60), would just now be edifying reading. It is a parody on the Church-of-England Catechism, and a large part of it is, of course, only applicable to the peculiar kind of corruption wrought by the influence of a court. But there are some passages in it which are good reading, here and now, for Favorite Sons, Practical Men, Special Agents, Brothers-in-law, Workers, Private Secretaries, Bosses, and the rest of them :

"Q. How comes there to be a Decay of Publick Spirit when there is more than usual a Desire to serve the Publick ?

"A. If a Desire to live upon the Publick be a Publick Spirit, there is Enough of it at this Time ; when Extravagance makes people crave more, and the Administration of a Publick Revenue (perhaps treble what it was before the Revolution) enables the Crown to give more than formerly.

"Q. What dost thou fear from this ?

"A. That such as serve the Crown for Reward may in Time sacrifice the Interests of their Country to their Wants ; that Greediness of Publick Money may produce a slavish Complaisance as long as the Crown can pay, and Mutiny when it cannot ; and, in general, that Motives of Self-Interest will prove an improper and weak Foundation for our Duty to our King and Country.

"Q. What wouldst thou do for thy Country ?

"A. I would die to procure its Prosperity ; and I would rather that my Posterity should be cut off than that they should be Slaves ; but as Providence at present requires none of these Sacrifices, I content myself to discharge the ordinary Duties of my Station, and to exhort my Neighbors to do the same.

"Q. What are Duties of your Station ?

"A. To endeavor, as far as I am able, to preserve the publick Tranquillity ; and, as I am a Freeholder, to give my Vote for the Candidate whom I judge most worthy to serve his Country ; for if from any partial Motive I should give my Vote for One unworthy, I should think myself justly chargeable with his Guilt.

"Q. What are the Marks of a Person worthy to serve his Country in Parliament ?

"A. The Marks of a good Ruler given in Scripture will serve for a Parliament-man : 'Such as rule over you shall be Men of Truth, hating Covetousness ; they shall not take a Gift ; they shall not be afraid of the Face of a Man' (Deut. xvi.). Therefore I conclude that the Marks of a good Parliament-man are Riches with Frugality, Integrity, Courage : being well affected to the Constitution ; Knowledge of the State of the Country ; being prudently frugal of the Money ; careful of the Trade ; zealous for the Liberties of the People ; having stuck to the Interest of his Country in perilous Times ; and being Assiduous in Attendance.

"Q. Who is most likely to take a Bribe ?

"A. He who offereth one.

"Q. Who is likely to be frugal of the People's Money ?

"A. He who puts none of it in his own Pocket.

"Q. Why is Frugality of the People's Money so necessary at this Time ?

"A. Because they have run out much, and are still much in Debt. My Father and I have paid our Share of one Hundred Millions, and I have heard there are near Fifty more to pay. I grudge not this prodigious Expense, as far as it has been the necessary Price of Liberty ; but as it would grieve me much to see this Blessing ravished from me which has cost me so dear, so, on the other hand, I think it expedient to save now the Affair is over and the Government settled.

"Q. Who are those who are so careful of the Trade of the Nation ?

"A. Such as are willing to keep it from all vexatious Interruptions by Inspections, entering into Houses, Seizures, Suits, and the Oppression of Tax-gatherers, as much as possible ; such as are willing to take off the burthensome Duties which increase the Expense of the Workman and, consequently, the Price of Manufacture."

PILGRIM MEMORIES.*

THE pilgrimage of an "infidel" to Mount Sinai and the tomb of Christ affords a suggestive theme for meditation. It is with no disparaging intent that we use the vague epithet, for Mr. Stuart-Glennie is himself most explicit in assuring us that neither with Christianity nor with what he calls "Christianism" does he acknowledge any fellowship or alliance. By Christianity he means "that great historical system which culminated in the philosophy of Scholasticism, the religion of Catholicism, and the polity of Feudalism" ; and by Christianism he means "that historical theory which represents Jesus of Nazareth as a supernatural being who came on earth for the good of mankind, was put to death, and rose again to sit on the right hand of God." The historical system Mr. Stuart-Glennie perceives to have come to an end, and the historical theory he has learned to regard as antiquated and unsound, and he therefore frankly declares himself an opponent of Christianity, and stigmatizes as dishonest all description of the

Christian religion as a morality, or sentiment, or ethical impulse. With the same frankness he expresses himself about beliefs which "Christianism" has always held dear, in language, and still more in a tone, calculated to exasperate the Christian world to the last degree, so that a leading orthodox Review has been led to recognize in him the "fool" described by the Psalmist who has "said in his heart that there is no God." This is, however, inaccurate, for Mr. Stuart-Glennie is certainly no atheist. It is the very purity and sensitiveness of his theistic instinct that leads him, like Theodore Parker, to condemn as degrading much that still finds a place in popular theology. One might, indeed, even plausibly question the propriety of Mr. Stuart-Glennie classifying himself as an anti-Christian, were it not that he is so explicit in defining what he rejects as Christianity. But, in truth, such questions of nomenclature are idle, for "Christian" is a word of such wide and vague connotations that, however well adapted it may be for various religious uses, it possesses hardly more defining value than such a word as "philosophical" ; and whether a given set of opinions can be grouped under such a rubric or not has become a point hardly worth arguing.

While mainly a personal narrative, this book of 'Pilgrim Memories' keeps certain ulterior ends in view. The author has projected, and in part executed, an extensive series of works, to be entitled 'The Modern Revolution,' in which nothing less is aimed at than the establishment of a new law of history, a new speculative basis for religion, and a new point of departure for dramatic art. The new law of history, and the new speculative basis for religion, we are to seek in the conception of historic development as "a certain Change, and Process of Change, in men's notions of the Causes of Change." One object of the present volume is to show how this conception took shape in the author's mind in the course of his journeys and discussions with Mr. Buckle. By the Gulf of Ezion-Gebir, "walking or riding along a shell- and coral-covered strand,—on our right the sea, red with the coralline forests of its depths, and with a margin so bright and clear that, as we rode, we saw all its gem-like pavement : on our left, sand-stone precipices, of the most magnificently-varied hues,—amid this strangely beautiful scene, we enter upon quite a Platonic dialogue, in which the author seeks to expound his new conception of causation, while Mr. Buckle occasionally interposes with "I do not follow you, I confess," or "That seems philosophical enough," quite after the manner of the *φαίνεται* or *οὐκέτι ξυνίεται* of Socrates and his interlocutors. This long conversation, or series of conversations, is perhaps the most interesting portion of the book. Yet Mr. Buckle evidently does not get a thorough hold of what Mr. Stuart-Glennie means by defining causation as involving "not merely the conception of Uniformity of Sequence," but also that of "Mutuality of Coexistence, or Mutual Determination" ; and we must confess that to us also his meaning seems by no means distinctly set forth or adequately elucidated. It is to be hoped that in future volumes this point will be thoroughly cleared up, for we are here told that the "Change in our conceptions of the Causes of Change" which the author has discovered to be the "Ultimate Law of History" is neither more nor less than "an advance from the conception of One-sided Determination to that of Mutual Determination." That this statement is fraught with meaning for Mr. Stuart-Glennie, there can be no doubt : he recurs to it again and again as if it were a sort of talismanic formula for the solution of all manner of problems, psychological and historical. But it is just one of those formulas, like Mr. Spencer's famous law of the change from incoherent homogeneity to coherent heterogeneity, that needs to be charged with significance by means of copious preliminary explanation in order to convey any sense at all to the mind of the reader.

To the many readers who, some twenty years since, were interested in what then bid fair to be the "biggest of big books," the most attractive pages in Mr. Stuart-Glennie's volume will be those which give us glimpses of the personal peculiarities of Mr. Buckle. The sad story of Mr. Buckle's fruitless journey in quest of health, the rapid decay of his strength, and his untimely death at Damascus, has long been generally known, but it acquires fresh interest from the fuller account now given by his fellow-pilgrim. Few would now rate the value of Mr. Buckle's work, or the loss to science from his premature end, so highly as they were commonly rated at the time. Yet, as a fresh instance of how life is short while art is long, of how the world passes away from us while yet we are stammering over the alphabet of its mysteries, there is something infinitely pathetic in the cry which went up from the exhausted and fever-stricken traveller—"My book, my book ! I shall never finish my book !" The pathos is not diminished, but perhaps rather deepened, by the reflection that the book possessed no such transcendent value as its author ascribed to it, and that in all probability the strange irony of fate, had it granted to Mr. Buckle

* 'Pilgrim Memories : or, Travel and Discussion in the Birth-Countries of Christianity with the late Henry Thomas Buckle. By John S. Stuart-Glennie, M.A.' New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1875. 8vo, pp. xviii.-514.

the long life of a Carlyle or a Humboldt, would only have permitted him to survive his own reputation as a leader in the world of thought. It is seldom that so brilliant a success as Mr. Buckle's has been even temporarily achieved by such superficial thinking and such slender scholarship. The immense array of authors cited in his book bears witness to the extent of his reading, but the loose, indiscriminate way in which they are cited shows equally how uncritical and desultory his reading was. One may ascribe this looseness to the native impatience of temperament illustrated in his disposing of Gibbon and Hallam in ten days; but certainly his solitary education and solitary habits of study could do little towards curing the fault. One reason why the scholarship of university-bred men is in the main so far superior to that of men who have been taught at home is that the former are regularly forced, by continual contact and rivalry with fellow-students, into habits of self-restraint and self-criticism in reaching conclusions which only the rarest innate virtues of intellect can enable the latter now and then, in spite of their solitude, to acquire. It is but once or twice in an age that the home-taught student can receive the stimulus to patient sagacity that was afforded in the cases of Grote and Mill. The kind of unceasing criticism which university-life affords the best means of securing, is in most cases indispensable. Less effective, because less direct and constant, but still very valuable, is the discipline that is gained by early and frequent authorship, where a writer is so constituted as to be able to profit alike by fair and unfair public criticism. That there may be men of genius with such marked native qualities of caution and vigilance as to enable them partially to dispense with such educational aids, we do not deny; but Mr. Buckle was not one of these. He began life with his full share of the "original sin" of hasty generalization; and nothing in his circumstances tended to check or control this disposition until, at an age when one's mental habits are usually pretty well engrained, he appeared before the world with the first instalment of his able and stimulating but crude and hastily-wrought book.

Not only did Mr. Buckle's impatient and uncritical habit prevent his vast reading from resulting in sound scholarship, but his lack of subtlety and precision was so marked as to stamp all his thinking with the character of shallowness. He seized readily upon the broader and vaguer distinctions among things, the force of which the ordinary reader feels most strongly and with least mental effort, and of such raw material, without further analysis, and without suspecting the need for further analysis, he constructed his historical theories. To this mode of proceeding, aided by his warmth of temperament and the lavish profusion of his illustrations, he undoubtedly owed the great though ephemeral success which his book attained. The average reader is much sooner stimulated by generalizations that are broad and indistinct than by such as are subtle and precise; and if we stop to consider why Mr. Buckle's name has been sometimes associated with those of men so far beyond his calibre as Mill and Darwin, we may see the reason in the fact that Mr. Buckle could be entirely grasped by many of those very admirers of the latter writers who least appreciate or fathom their finest and deepest mental qualities. But this essentially superficial character of Mr. Buckle's thought is shown not only in his obtuseness to subtle distinctions, but even more conspicuously in his utter failure to seize upon any deeply-significant but previously-hidden relations among facts, in the work which he put forth as the 'Novum Organum' of historical science. If we contrast his book with some of the really great books which were contemporary with it, such as Mr. Darwin's 'Origin of Species,' Mr. Spencer's 'Principles of Psychology,' or Sir Henry Maine's 'Ancient Law,' the difference is striking enough. Each of these works set forth old facts in new and hitherto unsuspected connections, and in so doing enunciated thoughts which have quite changed the aspect of the questions with which they dealt. There is not a naturalist in either continent to-day whose most specific enquiries do not bear some more or less conscious reference to what is known as "the Darwinian theory." The time-honored contest represented by Locke and Leibnitz, or by Hume and Kant, is beginning to take a new point of departure, owing to Mr. Spencer's suggestion of the acquirement of mental faculties through inheritance and slow variation; and Sir Henry Maine's lucid exposition of early ideas regarding contract, property, and family-relationship, obliges us to look at all the phenomena of society from an altered stand-point. But, in marked contrast with works of this kind, we find in Mr. Buckle's book sundry commonplaces reflections of quite limited value or applicability, such as the statements that scepticism is favorable to progress, or that over-legislation is detrimental to society. No doubt such commonplaces might be so treated as to acquire the practical value of new contributions to history. But to treat them so requires subtle analysis of the facts generalized, and all that Mr. Buckle did was to collect miscellaneous evidences for the statements in their rough, ready-made form.

Of generalizations that go below the surface of things, such as Comte's suggestive though indefensible "Law of the Three Stages," we find none in Mr. Buckle. The only attempt at such an analytic theory is the generalization concerning the moral and intellectual factors in social progress, wherein Mr. Buckle's looseness and futile vagueness of thought is shown perhaps more forcibly than anywhere else in his writings. It is not of such stuff as this that a science of historic phenomena can be wrought.

In Mr. Stuart-Glennie's reminiscences, which seem to be most carefully and honestly reported, these characteristics of Mr. Buckle—his warm, impatient temperament and his lack of mental subtlety or deep penetration—are continually brought to our notice; and all the more forcibly, because of the absence of any such intent on the part of the fellow-pilgrim to whom we owe these interesting notes of discussion. To examine the details of these conversations would carry us beyond our limits, and would hardly be justified by their intrinsic importance. One little point we must note as characteristic, with regard to Mr. Buckle's temperament as a historian. While Mr. Stuart-Glennie seems to have his whole soul stirred within him by the historic associations clustering about the places visited, and is moved to reflections always interesting and often suggestive, Mr. Buckle, on the other hand, though sufficiently alive to the beauties of nature, seems quite oblivious to historic memories. At the sepulchre of Christ his thoughts were mainly on political economy, "the state of society and the habits of the people." In such trivial details some light is thrown, perhaps, on that lack of intellectual sympathy with the past which was one of Mr. Buckle's most notable defects as a historian.

But with all this intellectual narrowness and looseness of texture, the narrative gives one a very pleasant impression of Mr. Buckle personally, and, furthermore, enables one to comprehend how, with such slight qualifications, he should have become so interesting to the world. One leaves Mr. Stuart-Glennie's book with the regret experienced on parting with intelligent and kindly companions. As we close it and lay it aside, we feel that yet another charming moment of our reading-life has gone to be numbered with the things of the past.

The Life of William, Earl of Shelburne. By Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice. Vol. II. (New York: Macmillan & Co.)—Lord Shelburne's character is a matter rather of psychological interest than of historical importance. It is, however, a subject which deserves some examination, since a misapprehension of his lordship's idiosyncrasies may lead others, as it has led his biographer, to misunderstand the position and underrate the services of the leading English statesmen of the last century. Shelburne cannot fairly be judged either from the virulent invective of Walpole or from the awkward apologies of Lord Fitzmaurice. He has, however, drawn in his letters, speeches, and private memoranda a picture of himself which probably gives a true portrait of the painter, since its traits account at once for the gratitude with which he was regarded by Bentham, and for the distrust which he excited in the mind of every colleague, from Bute to Burke, whom he flattered and betrayed. The *differentia* (to use a logical term) which distinguished Shelburne from his contemporaries was a singular freedom from the prejudices of his age. The best result of this independence of mind, which gives a slight flavor of originality to his otherwise unpleasing character, was seen in his genuine admiration for men such as Bentham and Price, whom he regarded as the apostles of enlightenment. To this source must also be attributed the spirit of toleration which he exhibited in private life, and attempted, in so far as was consistent with his schemes of political advancement, to foster in public life. The same independence of mind appears in minor traits of character. He speculated, though without attaining any definite result, about problems which belong rather to the present than to the last century. Thus, he was curious to ascertain what were the causes to which should be attributed the growth of feudalism. He perceived the evils which might result to the country from the principles of the poor-law, and in private, at least, he handled questions of theology with the off-hand ease of an aristocratic sceptic.

But though such virtues as Shelburne possessed resulted from the free exercise of a mind untrammelled by inherited prejudices or principles, his intellectual powers were clearly not of the highest order. Bentham's verdict is on this point decisive. "Lord Shelburne," he says, "used to catch hold of the most imperfect scrap of an idea, and filled it up in his own mind, sometimes correctly, sometimes erroneously. His manner was very imposing, very dignified, and he talked his vague generalities in the House of Lords as if something good were at the bottom, when, in fact, there was nothing at all." The justice of this criticism is amply confirmed by a

perusal of the pompous platitudes from which his lordship deduces such obvious maxims as that it is well to be "bound for no man," or that economy depends on "half-yearly receipts and weekly payments." Shelburne, in fact, was one of those men who can snatch at a principle, but cannot grasp it or follow out its consequences. This intellectual weakness marred his success. He says, for instance, vaguely that the policy adopted towards America was full of peril. But he continued a member of the Ministry which pursued the course condemned by his intellect, and sought to evade responsibility by studied absence from Cabinet councils. In such manœuvres opponents saw nothing but duplicity, but the charity of history suggests that intellectual haziness may have in part been the source of ambiguous conduct. An anecdote narrated by Bentham confirms this supposition. His lordship was accustomed to complain of a special act of treachery on the part of Pitt. But Bentham, after twice hearing the story, could never see wherein the treachery consisted. A statesman whose ill opinion of mankind constantly suggested to his mind vague suspicions of treachery, which he could not define for lack of mental lucidity, was certain to wear the appearance of dishonesty, and, unless influenced by high moral principle, to use fraud as a weapon against suspected traitors.

Of high principle Shelburne knew nothing. He considered mankind a pack of rogues governed by a gang of knaves. His whole art of managing men consisted in the use of indiscriminate flattery. If his contemporaries scarcely understood his character, he certainly thoroughly misunderstood the temper of his associates. He constantly promised more than he could perform, and attempted to avoid the risks of direct mendacity by the use of delusive ambiguities. The old lord who said boldly that the only way out of a great scrape was to tell a great lie, understood his age. He knew that men would pardon the falsehoods of a downright liar, whilst they would never forgive the equivocation of a sophist who, if he never lied, always deceived. The want of moral feeling, combined with the want of intellectual clearness, accounts for the cynical acts by which Lord Shelburne hopelessly alienated his associates. He denounced, for example, in language which now sounds impressive, the measures adopted by a set of men who enlisted under the banners of the Earl of Bute. His audience knew that Shelburne himself had been active in beating up recruits for Bute's disreputable army of worthless politicians. This speech was enough to make all statesmen shun association with Shelburne. They suspected even deeper want of principle than appeared on the surface, and modern readers know that their suspicions were not unfounded. Shelburne was the adulator of Chatham while Chatham was a power in the state. Loyalty to Chatham is his only possible excuse for serving under the Duke of Grafton long after he condemned the policy of the Duke's Cabinet. But Shelburne we now know neither trusted nor venerated Chatham. His private journal is filled with attacks on the character of the patron whom he had flattered. Nor should Shelburne's friendship for Price and Bentham count for much in the judgment of impartial posterity. Shelburne held Bentham to be the "Newton of legislation." This, no doubt, speaks well for his intellect; but Shelburne declined to devote even one of four pocket boroughs to giving the great jurist an opportunity of using his extraordinary talents in the service of his country. This fact gives the full measure of the public spirit which may be attributed to him.

Robinson Crusoe's Money. By David A. Wells. (New York : Harper & Bros. 1876.)—Mr. Wells says in his preface that the brochure before us is due to the suggestion of "certain prominent friends of hard money that he should prepare for popular reading—and possibly for political-campaign purposes—a little tract or essay in which the elementary principles underlying the important subjects of money and currency should be presented and illustrated from the simplest A B C standpoint." He accordingly resorted to the now familiar device for making plain the principles of political economy, of tracing the growth of trade among the shipwrecked inhabitants of a small island, which our readers may remember as last used by Mrs. Fawcett. Mr. Wells takes Robinson Crusoe's island, and makes Robinson himself, and his man Friday, and Friday's father, and Will Atkins, the founders of the new state in which his various economical problems are to be worked out, and opens his tale most happily with Crusoe's examination of the contents of the ship's chest, and his philosophical address to the bags of money which he found therein. He then goes on to show how, in the gradual growth of this little community, the need of an instrument of exchange and common measure of value began to be felt, and traces the history of the various experiments and discoveries by which the people were led to the conviction that gold and silver would answer the purpose better than any other commodity. The Robinson-Crusoe

feature in the story is not preserved longer than is necessary to engage thoroughly the reader's attention; in the latter half, the people of the island break through their disguise and become a large and populous state, resembling the American Union almost as closely as Mark Twain's Irish Republic, in which St. Patrick slaughtered the Congress and all the high officers of government as corrupt reptiles.

Most of the fallacies current among American "soft-money" philosophers are exposed, and many of the philosophers themselves ridiculed unsparingly under a very thin veil. But, as we have said, in the latter part of the book the parable is well-nigh forgotten, and the reader is treated to a simple explanation of the knottier problems of the currency question in Mr. Wells's best style, which in this field has hardly any equal. Some of the extracts he makes from the "soft-money" speeches actually delivered in this country, when produced in naked isolation in a foot-note, read like the emanations of a lunatic asylum. Indeed, we doubt if such contributions as have been made to the currency discussion by Messrs. Kelley, Butler, and Phillips could be matched anywhere in the civilized world since 1825, except in the parlors of the insane under the present enlightened system of treatment.

Any rational man who has a friend wallowing in the "soft-money" muddle can hardly do better than put Mr. Wells's little work into his hands. It has the immense advantage for the unlearned and unstable of treating political economy psychologically, as a series of states of mind, rather than as a series of physical phenomena, which is the only way of bringing its truths home to those unused to reflection or long trains of reasoning. The more elaborate treatises tell us what commercial facts will follow other commercial facts; Mr. Wells's story tells us how men feel when they see certain things, which is the essence of political economy. Kelley or Stephen Pearl Andrews or Phillips can manufacture a system of finance without a flaw on its surface; but Mr. Wells tells us how the minds of plain people will work when they are asked to handle the money of these "thinkers."

Orchids: A Complete Manual of Orchid Culture. By Edward Sprague Rand, Jr. (New York : Hurd & Houghton. 1876. pp. 476, 12mo.)—A beautiful book, of great practical value, indispensable to all orchid-growers in this country—the number of which is not small—and not less so to the many amateur flower-cultivators who are longing to take a few orchids in hand, if only they knew or could learn how to manage them. We have cited the beginning and the end of the title; we add the rest as the shortest way of giving an idea of the scope of the volume: 'A description of the species and varieties grown at Glen Ridge, near Boston; with lists and descriptions of other desirable kinds, prefaced by chapters on the culture, propagation, collection, and hybridization of orchids; the construction and management of orchid houses; a glossary of botanical terms, and significance of their names; the whole forming a complete manual of orchid-culture,' as aforesaid. Glen Ridge is the name of Mr. Rand's residence in the vicinity of Boston. The book is beautifully planned and printed, as becomes the Riverside Press. Charming wood-cut illustrations come in at the close of most of the chapters. The earlier of these chapters, nineteen in number, forming nearly a quarter of the book, treat of the nature and habits of orchids; the rise and progress of their culture, first in Europe, then in the United States—the history of the latter beginning, of course in Boston, about the year 1838 (but the great collections are now at and between New York and Albany); the classification (which does not come down later than that of Lindley, and hardly need); collection and transportation; treatment of newly-imported orchids; construction of the orchid-house; and, in short, everything about the growth and management of these plants which the amateur could wish to know, including a chapter on the cool treatment of orchids, in which the grapy may be utilized and adorned. On all but this the author writes from the fulness of his own knowledge; here he condenses "from the latest English publications the experience of those who have put the new theory into practice." So practical is the author's vein that, in the chapter, of only four pages, on the propagation and impregnation of orchids, he resists all temptation—if any he had—to expatiate upon the now popular subject of their wonderful arrangements for fertilization by the aid of insects, merely saying that "this has within the last few years attracted much attention in Europe, and much of interest has been written on the subject, in view of which we may conclude that our knowledge of orchids and their peculiar adaptations is yet most imperfect." In view of which we should conclude rather the contrary, and that of no great order do we really know so much in this regard, though none is on the whole so wonderful.

The "descriptive list" makes up the larger part of the volume, and

includes nearly all the orchids in cultivation anywhere, with references to published figures, some words of description of many, and more detailed accounts of those most worthy of attention. Special lists follow of those grown at Glen Ridge; of thirty cheap orchids for general cultivation; of those with curious flowers or resembling insects; of the choicest species for beauty or fragrance, etc.; and finally, a list of the genera of the order arranged under the authors who named them. The glossary is mainly one of names of orchids, of species as well as genera, so far as mentioned in this volume—i.e., the cultivated and mainly epiphytical species of the orchid-house. It comes at the end of the book, where we may well suppose the busy author to be satisfied with his task. It might have been left out, and indeed it were better so if there was not time to revise it thoroughly. For

there are slips and oversights in it which will mortify the author when he comes to notice them, and which he will hasten to correct in a new edition.

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